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GERMANIC *w*-GEMINATION. II

GERM. *-đw-: -dd-*

68. ME. *dudd*, *dudde* 'a coarse cloak,' NE. *duds* 'clothes' (used disparagingly), OHG *tutta* (*tuta*), *tutto* (*tuto*) 'Brustwarze, weibl. Brust,' Norw. *dodd* 'tuft, wisp; heap,' early Du. *dodde* 'Stengel, Stift,' Du. *dodde* 'liebkosende Benennung für ein Kind,' from **đudw-*: Norw. *dott* 'tuft; heap,' *dotta* 'pile in little heaps,' *dytta* 'stop up, make tight; dam up; cram, pack,' OE. *dyttan* 'shut (ears); stop (mouth)'; OS. *dodro*, OHG. *totoro* 'Dotter,' NHG. Styr. *tudel* 'kurzes, dickes Weib; Puppe,' Skt. *dúdhitaḥ* 'dick, dicht, steif,' *dudhráḥ* 'steif, störrig' (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 333). Cf. No. 26.

69. Norw. *krodda* 'Käse von eingekochter Milch,' ME. *crudde* 'curds,' Germ. **kruđw-*, **kruđu-*: Ir. *gruth* (**grutu-*) 'geronnene Milch, Quark' (Fick, II⁴, 119; III⁴, 54).

70. OE. *codd* 'bag; cod, shell, husk,' ON. *kodde* 'cushion,' OSwed. *kodde* 'Hode,' MDu. *codde idem*, from **kuđwa-n-*: Lat. *guttus* 'a vessel for liquids,' **gutȳos* 'round object,' Goth. *qībus* (**gūetus*) 'belly,' OE. *cwidele* 'inflamed swelling,' *cēod* 'pouch, vessel.' Cf. No. 25.

71. MHG. *ratte* 'Kornrade, agröstemma,' NHG. Swiss, Bav. *ratte*, Germ. stem **rēđwan-*, **rađwan-*: early NHG. *ratwen*, OHG. *rāto*, OLG. *rāda* (cf. Fick, III⁴, 337).

72. OE. *ruddoc*, ME. *ruddok*, NE. dial. *ruddock* 'robin redbreast,' Germ. **ruđwaka-*: Lith. *rudugỹs* 'September,' *ruđūti* 'rötlichbraun werden,' *rudāvimas* 'das Braunwerden,' *ruduszis* 'RotaUGE, cyprinus rutilus,' *rūdas* 'rötlich braun,' OE. *rudu* 'red color, rouge; redness.'

73. OE. *pudd* 'ditch,' Germ. **puđwa-*: Gr. βυσσός 'the depths of the sea' (**budhȳós* or **budhĩós*), βύσσαλοι·βόθροι Hes., βυθός 'the depth, esp. of the sea,' βίθιος 'in the deep, sunken, deep,' τὰ βύθια 'water-animals,' βυθίζω 'immerse, sink,' ME. *podel* 'puddle,' base **budh-* 'press down; sink; press, pack, cram, make big; swell, etc.,' also in the following (cf. IE. *a*² 51).

74. MDu. *podde* 'toad,' *pudde* 'eel-pout,' Westfal. *puddek* 'lump, pudding, sausage,' NE. *pudding*, *poddy* 'round and stout in the belly,' LG. *puddig* 'thick, swollen,' Germ. *puđwa-* 'swollen; swelling, lump': OE. *puđoc* 'wen, wart,' NE. dial. *pud* 'paw,' MLG. *puđel* 'Dose, Beutel.' Cf. No. 28.

75. Norw. dial. *skadda*, *skodda* 'Nebel' (ON. **skadda*, gen. **skoddu*), MHG. *schatte* (*schate*) 'Schatten,' Germ. **skadwa-* and *skadu-*: Goth. *skadus* 'shadow,' OHG. *scato*, gen. *scatuwes*, Gr. *σκόρος* 'darkness' (cf. Fick, III,⁴ 449).

76. OE. *sceadd* 'shad, clupea alosa,' Norw. *skadd* 'kleiner Schnäpel,' Germ. **skadwa-* 'thin, pointed': OE. *scæþþa* 'nail' (No. 61). For meaning compare NHG. *schnäpel* 'der Fisch salmo laveretus, mit sich schnabelartig spitzig verlängernder Schnauze.' To this primary meaning the use of NE. *shad* points: *shad-bird* 'the common American snipe; the common European sandpiper' (both birds so called from their pointed bills, not "with reference to their appearance at the shad-fishing season," which might apply to many other birds); *shad-bellied* 'thin-bellied,' the opposite of *pot-bellied*.

These are from a pre-Germ. stem **skhatu-* 'strip, thin piece,' Goth. *skapuls* 'schädlich,' *skapjan* 'schaden,' Gr. *ἀσκηθής* 'unharméd,' root **skhē-i-*: Skt. *chyāti* 'schneidet ab,' pp. *chātah*, *chitāh*, Gr. *σχάσις* 'a pricking, scarifying,' *σχάω* 'split' (*σχίζω*, Skt. *chinātti*, Lat. *scindo*, etc.), *σχάζω* 'slit, lance; burst open (of flowers),' *σχαστήριον* 'lancet': ON. *skata* 'Glattrochen,' Norw. *skata* 'Elster' ("nach dem spitz auslaufenden Schwanze benannt," Fick, III,⁴ 448), *skata* 'in eine Spitze hinauslaufen,' *skat* 'Wipfel eines Baumes,' Swed. dial. *skate* 'etwas Hervorspringendes, Wipfel, Landspitze.'

GERM. -*kw-*: -*kk-*

77. OHG. *acchus*, *accus*, *ackes* 'ax,' Germ. **akwisjō-*, *akwizjō-*: Goth. *agizi* 'ax.' With *i*-syncopation also WGerm. **akus-* in OS., OLFranc. *acus*, OHG. *achus*, whence the *u* in *acchus* for **acchis*.

78. OHG. *nackot* 'nackt,' ON. *nøkkueðr*, *nøkkueðr idem*, etc., Germ. **nakwiða-*, **nakwaða-*, Goth. *naqaps*, etc. (pre-Germ. **nogʷ-* *odho-*, *-edho-* 'nudus'), whence later also by syncope **nakuða-*: MSwed. *nakudher*, OE. *nacod*, OHG. *nahhut*, etc.

79. ON. *nǫkkue* 'Nachen,' stem **nakwan-* and, with loss of *w*, **nakan* in OE. *naca*, OS. *naco*, OHG. *nahho*.

80. ON. *slǫkkua* (*slǫkua*) 'löschen, stillen,' **slakwian*, pre-Germ. **sloq̥-*: Lat. *lingueo*, Gr. *λαγᾰρός*, ON. *slakr* 'slack' (cf. Walde², 410).

81. OHG. *nicchessa*, MHG. *nickes* 'Nix,' **nikwes-* (and **nikus-*, *nikuz* in OHG. *nihhus*, ON. *nykr*, OE. *nicor*), pre-Germ. **nig^ues-*, Gr. *νίζω*, fut. *νίψω* 'wash.'

82. ON. *rǫkkur* 'darkness': Goth. *riqis idem*, Gr. *ἔρεβος*, Skt. *rājah*.

83. OIcel. *vǫkkua* 'zum Fliessen bringen,' ONorw. pres. *vækkir*: ON. *vǫkr* 'feucht,' from **vakuz*, Germ. **wakwaz*, IE. **uog^uo-*, Lat. *ūvidus*, Gr. *ὕγρός* 'wet.'

84. ME. *wricken*, NE. dial. *wrick* 'twist, turn,' Swed. *wricka*, Dan. *wrikke* 'move, turn, wriggle, sprain,' Du., LG. *wrikken* 'move to and fro,' *-kk-* from *-kw-*: Goth. *wraiqs*. Or in this case *-kk-* may be from *-kn^z-*: Gr. *ῥικνός* 'bent.'

85. ON. acc. *kuikkuan*, *kykkuan* 'living' (nom. *kuikr* from **kwikur*, OE. *cwicu*, Germ. stem **kwikwa-*, pre-Germ. **g^uig^uo-*, Lett. *dfiga* 'life,' cf. Walde², 846), OHG. *quek*, gen. *queckes*, OLFr. *quicca fē* 'live stock.'

86. ON. *þykkur*, *þiukkr* 'thick,' OE. *þicce*, OFries. *thikke*, OS. *thikki*, OHG. *dicchi*, etc., Germ. **þekwa-* (**þeku*): Ir. *tiug* (**tegu-*) 'thick.'

87. OE. *þaccian* 'pat, flap,' Nlcel. *þjōkka* 'schlagen, klopfen': OS. *thako-lon* 'streicheln,' **þaku-lōn*, Lat. *tango*, Gr. *τεταγών* (cf. Fick, III⁴, 565).

88. OE. *haccian* 'hack,' **hakwōn*, OFris. *tōhahkia* 'zerhacken,' MLG., MHG. *hacken*, *hacke* 'Hacke': MHG. *hachel*, *hechel* 'Hechel,' NE. *hatchel*, *hetchel*, *heckle* 'comb for flax or hemp,' verb 'comb, as flax or hemp; tease with questions,' OE. *haca* 'hook,' *hacod* 'pike (fish),' OS. *hacud idem*.

89. OE. *sæcce* acc. 'quarrel, strife,' WGerm. **sakwa*, Germ. **sakwō*: OE. nom. *sacu*, WGerm. **sak(w)u*, Germ. **sakwō*, pre-Germ. **(p)sog-ya-*: Goth. *saku-ls* 'streitsüchtig,' *sakan* 'streiten,' OHG. *sahhan* 'tadeln, schelten, vor Gericht streiten,' ON. *saka* 'injure; blame, find fault with,' Gr. *ψόγος* 'blame, censure,' *ψέγω* 'lessen, disparage, blame,' Skt. *psāti* 'zehrt auf, zerkaut,' etc. These

are to be separated from OE. *forsacan* 'forsake, relinquish; refuse; deny,' OHG. *forsahhan* 'refuse; deny,' Goth. *sōkjan* 'seek,' etc.

GERM. -hw-:-hh-

90. OHG. *ahha* (*aha*) 'aqua': Goth. *a/va*; *firlīche* (*firlīhe*) 'verleihe': Goth. *lei/vai*; *nāhhitun* 'nahten': Goth. *nē/vidēdun*; *sehhan* 'sehen,' *sāhhun* 'sahen' (here analogical): Goth. *sai/van*, *sē/vun* (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, § 154, Anm. 6).

91. OE. *tiohhian*, Angl. *tihhian* (**tihwōjan*) 'arrange; determine, consider' (Bülbring, § 541), to which add the geminated MHG. *zechen* 'fügen, anordnen, schaffen, veranstalten; zechen' (OHG. **zehhōn*, *zehōn*), *zeche* 'Anordnung, Reihenfolge, Zunft, Zechgesellschaft,' MLG. *teche*, *techge*, *teghe idem*, Goth. *tēwa* 'Ordnung,' pre-Germ. **dēky-*: Serb.-Cr. *u-dešavati*, *-desiti* 'richten, zurecht machen; treffen,' OBulg. *desiti* 'finden,' Lat. *decet*, *decus*, Skt. *daśasyāti* 'erweist Ehre, ist gnädig,' *dāṣati* 'erweist Verehrung, gewährt.'

92. OE. *ceahhettan* 'laugh loudly,' **kahwatjan* (Bülbring, § 541), from an OE. **ceahhian* preserved in NE. *chaff* 'assail with sarcastic banter or ridicule, make game of, banter, ridicule,' sb. 'banter, ridicule,' MHG. *kach* 'lautes Lachen' (**kahwa-*), *kachen*, *kachzen*, OHG. *kachazzen*, *kahhazzen* 'laut lachen.'

93. OE. *cohhetan* 'cough; shout,' **kuhwatjan*, **cohkian*, **cūhhian*, ME. *coghen*, *coughen* (*couwen*), NE. *cough* (kɒf), MDu. *cochen*, *cuchen* 'cough, wheeze; groan,' LG. *kuchen*, *küchen* 'keuchen,' MHG. *küchen idem*.

94. OE. *seohhe* 'strainer, Seihe,' **sihwōn-* (Bülbring, § 541), MLG. *sigge* (*sīge*, *sie*) 'Seihe,' *siggen* (*sīgen*, *sien*) 'seihen' (or these with -gg- from -gw-), NHG. Tyrol. *seichen* 'seihen,' MDu. *sichene* 'Sieb,' and perhaps also *sichten* 'sichten; seihen' (**sihwatjan?*), IE. root **seiqʷ*.

95. OE. *geneahhe* 'sufficiently; frequently,' **nahwē*, **nokūēd*: Lith. *naszùs* 'gute Früchte tragend, fruchtbar,' *nēszi* 'tragen,' Lat. *nanciscor* 'reach,' Goth. *ganah* 'genügt,' etc., and probably *nē/vs* 'nahe.'

96. MDu. *crochen* 'groan, moan,' Du. dial. *krochen*, *kruchen* 'groan; wheeze,' MLG. *krochen* 'grunzen, krächzen,' **kruhw-*: Gr. γρῦζω 'grunt, mutter,' γρῦκρός 'to be muttered.'

97. OE. *pohha* 'pouch, bag,' **puhwan-* 'swelling,' MLG. *poche* (and *pocke*) 'Blatter, Pustel,' *puchen* (*puggen*) 'pochen, trotzen,' MDu. *pochen puchen* 'bacchari, debacchari; tonare murmure et

verberibus; et jactare, jactitare': *pogge* 'toad' (**pugw-*), Gr. *βυκάρη* 'trumpet,' Russ.-Ch.Sl. *bučati* 'dröhnen,' Pol. *buczec* 'brüllen, tönen, weinen,' *buczyć się* 'sich aufblasen,' *buczny* 'stolz, prahlerisch; übermütig,' etc. (cf. Berneker, I, 98 f.). In this group occur the geminations *kk*, *hh*, *gg*.

98. WS., Kent. *geohhol*, Angl. *gehhol* 'Yule, Christmas' and WS., Kent. *hweohhol* 'wheel' are given in Bülbring, *Ae. El.*, § 543, as examples of "Dehnung vor l." But both of these words had an *h* followed by *w*, and this was the cause of the gemination. For *geohhol* represents Germ. **jehwla-*, while *gēol* 'Yule,' *gēola* 'December,' Goth. *jiuleis idem* are from **je(g)wl-*, IE. **ǵeqʷlo-*: Gr. *ἐψία* 'sport, game, amusement' (cf. Boisacq, s.v.). So also *hweohhol*; *hweog(u)l*, *hweowol*, *hwēol* come from **hwehwla-*; **hwegwla-*: Skt. *cakrām* 'wheel.'

99. OHG. *nihhein*, *nechein*, *nohhein*, 'keiner'; *dihhein*, *dehhein*, *dechein* (*thegein*), *thohhein* 'irgend ein' are explained as having "secondary gemination" from original *nihein*, *dihein*, etc., in which *h* was final and therefore a spirant (*nih-ein*), but in composition was drawn over in part to the second syllable (*nih-hein*), and so properly written as a gemination (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*, § 154, Anm. 6). This explanation would imply the formation of *nihhein*, etc., in OHG. from *nih* and *ein*. The compounds must have been much earlier (: OS. *nigēn*, *negēn*), and as collocations even pre-Germ. *Nihhein* represents Germ. **nehwe ainaz* 'neque unus'; *nohhein* (which need not be regarded as having *o* for *e* in the proclitic position, Braune, § 29, Anm. 3) from **nuhwe ainaz*: OHG. *noch* 'neque,' probably identical with *noh*, Goth. *nauh* 'noch; adhuc,' with the negative force derived from its use with *ni*, and also influenced by *nih*. Or *noh* 'neque' may come from **n-u-qʷe:n-* from **ene* 'not,' Lat. *nē*, *ne-*, and also *in-* 'un-,' Gr. *ἀν-* (*ε*-), *ἀ-* (*η*-); *-u-*, perhaps an ablaut form of Lat. *-ve*, *vē-*, OBulg. *u-* (Gr. *οὐ*?), and added to the negative in Gr. *ἀνευ* 'without' (**n-eu*), Goth. *inu* (**en-u*), OHG. *āno* (**ēn-ou*). *Dihhein*, *dehhein* 'irgend ein' comes from Germ. **pehwe ainaz*, pre-Germ. **teqʷe* 'irgend', stem **to-*, **te-*, whence also **te-s* in Goth. *þis-hun* 'μάλιστα,' *-lvaduh* 'whithersoever,' *-lvah* 'whatever,' *-lvaruh* 'wherever,' *-lvazuh* 'whoever.' Similarly *thohhein* is formed from a **tu-qʷe*, which is also in OHG. *doh* 'doch,' from an IE. stem **tu*, *tyo-*: Skt. *tva-h*, *tua-h* 'mancher, der eine,' *ū* 'doch, nun, aber,' OE. *þus* 'thus, so,' etc.

100. OE. **rohhe*, *reohhe* 'a fish' (-ēo-?), MDu. *rochche*, *roche*, *rochghe*, *rogghe* 'roach' (sea-fish), MLG. *roche*, *ruce* *idem*, NE. *rough* (raʃ) 'rauh,' implying OE. **rūhh*, Germ. **rāhwa-n-*: OE. *rūh* 'shaggy, hairy, rough,' *rȳhæ*, *rȳe*, *rēowe* 'blanket, rug,' OLG. *rūgi*, *rūwi* 'rauhes Fell,' OHG. *rūh* 'haaricht, struppig,' NHG. *rauch* 'mit Haaren, Federn, Stacheln bewachsen,' *rauchware* 'Pelzware,' pre-Germ. **rūquo-* 'rough, broken,' **rug-* 'pull, tear, break': Lat. *runco* 'pull out, weed,' Gr. *ῥυκάρη* 'plane,' Skt. *luñcāti* 'rauft, rauft aus, rupft, enthülst,' *rūkṣāh* 'rauh,' etc. For meaning compare Lat. *rumpo*: Lith. *rupas* 'rauh, höckerig, holprig.'

GERM. -gu-, -gw-: -gg-

101. OE. *mæcgas* 'boys,' Germ. **magwōs*: nom. *magu*, Goth. *magus* (cf. Kluge *Pauls Grdr.*, I², 379; Bülbring, *Ae. El.*, § 541). Unfortunately this is not conclusive, since *mæcg-* may rather represent WGerm. **magj-*, which would regularly occur in the loc. sing. and the nom. plur.: Germ. **magiwi*; **magiwiz*, OHG. *suniu*, later *sunī*; Goth. *magjus*, *sunjus*, OHG. *sunī*.

102. ME. *schoggen*, 'shake, agitate,' Norw. dial. *skygg* 'scheu, furchtsam,' Germ. **skugwia-*, Swed. *skygga* 'scheu werden': MHG. *schiuhen*, *schiuwen* 'verscheuchen' (cf. Fick, III,⁴ 467). Cf. No. 35.

103. OE. *raggig* 'shaggy,' NE. *rag*, *ragged*, ON. *rōgg*, *rōggr* 'long coarse wool,' **ragwō-*, *-wa-*: OE. *ragu* 'lichen,' OLG. *raginna* 'long hair, saetas,' MDu. *raegh* 'cobweb,' Skt. *raṣanā* 'Strick, Riemen, Zügel, Gurt,' *raṣmiḥ* 'Strang, Riemen, Zügel, Messchnur, Strahl.' Compare the root **reġ-* in ON. *rekende*, OE. *racente*, OHG. *rahhinza* 'chain, fetter,' ON. *rakke*, OE. *racca* 'cord forming part of rigging of ship.'

104. ME. *roggen* 'rock, move back and forth,' Icel. *rugga* 'rock, roll,' *rugg* 'a rocking, rolling,' *rugga* 'a rocking cradle,' Germ. **rugw-*: MLG. *rogen* 'regen, rühren, bewegen, erregen,' Icel. *rugl* 'confusion, disorder,' *rugla* 'confuse': ME. *rokken* 'rock,' No. 34.

105. NE. *prog* 'a poke, prod; a pointed instrument for poking or prodding,' verb 'poke, prod; poke about, prowl,' Germ. **prugg-*, **prugw-*, pre-Germ. **brġhu-*: Gr. *βραχύς* 'small, short,' EFris. *prakken* 'pressen.' Cf. No. 38.

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